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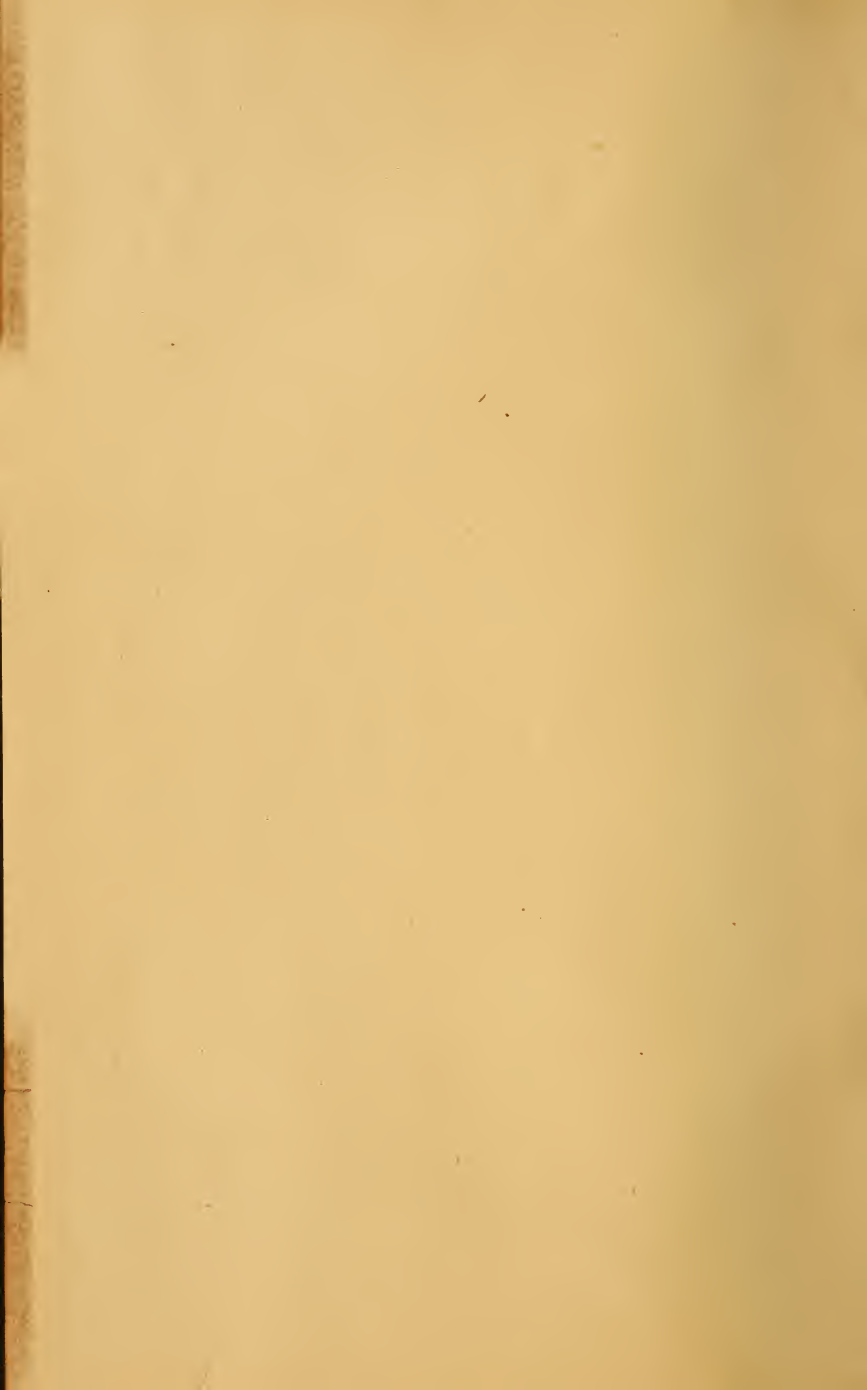
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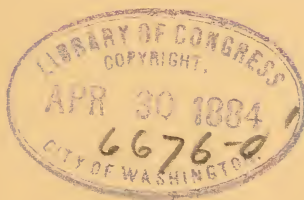




# MORAL AND LEGAL FORCE.

BY

GEORGE LANSING TAYLOR, D.D.



NEW YORK:

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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THE following paper was originally delivered as one of a series of speeches on various phases of the Temperance question, before the Connecticut State Methodist Convention, at Hartford, January 30, 1883, the Legislature being then in session, and Temperance legislation pending.



# MORAL AND LEGAL FORCE.

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THE criminality of drunkenness has been ably presented to you this afternoon. After what I shall try to say to-night, you will hear, from the eloquent gentlemen who are to follow me, about the forms of Temperance legislation, and about our duty to enforce such laws as we have. The theme which has been assigned by our excellent Committee of Arrangements to me is a more general one. As they have stated it, it reads :

MORAL SUASION FOR PROMOTING TEMPERANCE—  
LEGAL FORCE FOR SUPPRESSING INTEMPERANCE.

This, therefore, is the theme on which I have the honor to address you this evening. The form of the thesis is very suggestive. It has very much the appearance of an equation in algebra, where the same result will be obtained by transposing the quantities from either member to the other, if only the plus and minus signs be changed. This question is like the balance beam in the scales of justice. We have moral suasion to send one scale up, and legal force to send the other down. But no matter which does the work, so the beam tips toward righteousness, as it is especially sure to do if both work together. In this statement of the question the cause of temperance is like a dray horse, with two powerful motives to make him

pull, namely, a peck of oats just ahead of his nose, and a cat-o'-nine-tails behind him. No matter which motive does the work, so it is done, and the load moves on. But with both motives it is doubly likely to move on. So the chariot of human progress needs, and has ever needed, both rewards and punishments—all the motives that can be brought to bear upon human character, to secure the advancement of the human race. And the temperance cause forms no exception to this general law of all human improvement.

In the limited time which I can use, and not keep you too long from the well-known eloquence of the gentlemen who are to follow me, I will ask your attention to—

*First, the Uses and Successes of Moral Suasion in the Promotion of Temperance.*

The use of moral suasion, in any cause, is first to produce *conviction*, and then, through conviction, to secure *action*. Conviction without action is inconsistent, cowardly, and barren of all good results. Action, without conviction, is feeble, hypocritical, and transitory. The first and fundamental work of moral suasion is to produce conviction, but its work is very lame and imperfect if it can not see conviction developed and hardened into action, into living and positive facts.

In this view of the uses of moral suasion, let us see how it has been applied, and what is still its proper field, in the temperance cause. Its first work was to create, in the minds of individuals and of society at large, a conviction of the evils, the damage, the peril and destruction arising from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. Are we aware how great was this task when the modern temperance reform began? Are we aware what an unheard-of fanaticism was John Wesley's rule against "buying, selling, or drinking, except in cases of extreme necessity," in 1743? Are we aware that it is not yet ninety years since the

first effective modern temperance document, "A Medical Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Body and Mind," was published by Dr. Rush, in Philadelphia, in 1794; and only seventy-four years since the first permanent temperance society was founded in Saratoga County, N. Y., and only forty years since the first great temperance movement—the Washingtonian movement—in 1841-42? We must be aware of the history of the movement before we can tell whether it is making progress or not, and how much. What has moral suasion done since then? What have been its successes? Why, it is not too much to say that a moral revolution, one of the sublimest in history, has been wrought on this subject during the last half century. The pure Christian philanthropy, which moved Wesley to legislate, and Rush to write, and others to organize, has spread like a mighty leaven, until to-day it is one of the best organized and most powerful moral sentiments in all Christendom. Volumes were necessary to name the heroic men and women who have labored, the societies that have been organized, the literature that has been printed, the victims that have been rescued, the abuses that have been corrected, the battles that have been fought, the victories that have been won, in this great campaign. The revolution that has been wrought, though by no means yet complete, is literally stupendous. Seventy-five years ago, fifty years ago, rum was everywhere, mixed up with everything in all the events and occasions of human life. It was at the birth, the christening, the wedding; the church, the ordination, the communion; the social party, the transient call, the work, the rest, the play, the worship, the sick-bed, the death, the funeral of men—of all men, high or low, rich or poor, prince or pauper, clergy or laity, Christian or infidel, bond or free. Its absence, anywhere, was the exception, not the rule, and demanded an apology. Now, how vast is the change in all this. Now, all the most earnest moral

and religious sentiment, and all the best of social sentiment and individual opinion and usage, is strongly the other way. Now, the offering of liquors on any of the ordinary, and nearly all the extraordinary occasions of life, is an offense against good manners and good morals, and only not demanding an apology because recognized as incapable of an apology. *Then*, he who did not drink, and offer drink, was a fanatic. *Now*, he is, in some sense, an outlaw who does so.

Who but the most critical student of history can measure what moral suasion has accomplished in the way of producing conviction, and the carrying of conviction out into action, in this glorious work! Many of the examples of action, in various lines, produced by moral suasion, are among the wonders of history. The whole human apparatus of the Christian Church, in its work of transforming the world from darkness to light, is, at the bottom, moral suasion. Some of the triumphs of moral suasion in the temperance cause have been almost modern miracles. The Father Mathew temperance movement began in Ireland in 1838. Lord Morpeth, British secretary for Ireland, reported the following statistics: "In 1837 the violent crimes against the person, from maiming to murder, were 12,096. Before October, 1838, Father Mathew had enrolled over 250,000 names on his pledges. In 1838 the crimes were 11,058; in 1839, 1,097; in 1840, 173!" From 12,096 to 173, in three years! A reduction in crime of nearly 7,000 per cent. in three years! That eminent authority, Judge Noah Davis, of New York, says: "I feel bound to say that in my judgment the efforts of temperance organizations in our country . . . have done more to prevent crime, by spreading and maintaining temperance, especially among our rural populations, than all our numerous and complicated systems of police."

Well may we conclude that the increase or decrease of *crime* is one of the most infallible of all thermome-

ters to indicate the temperance or intemperance of a community. But it is not the only thermometer. The increase or decrease of *illiteracy* is another thermometer. Maine, Iowa, and Kansas are among the States that have the least illiteracy of any in the Union, and they are the three foremost in the prohibition of the liquor traffic. The moral suasion of intelligent temperance brought them up to that high level of action. *Property* is another thermometer of temperance. See the growth of property in Maine, the pioneer temperance State. In 1840 she had been twenty years a State, and her total valuation was less than sixty-nine and a quarter million dollars. But in ten years more, 1850, she was worth over \$100,000,000; in 1860, \$162,000,000; in 1870, \$224,822,800, almost doubling the entire valuation of the State every ten years. Every honest man in the State is the richer, and can live the cheaper and better, for the absence of the rum traffic. In Kansas the valuation of personal property alone leaped up \$10,250,000 in one year, from 1880 to 1881, under the prohibitory law, over \$4,000,000 greater increase than in any previous year in the history of the State, and most of it the liquor bill of the State saved and put into the form of useful possessions. Rum newspapers in the East reported that 40,000 people had left the State on account of the prohibitory law. The fact was, as Governor St. John shows, that in eighteen months after the adoption of the amendment Kansas gained 100,000 population, and that of the best class, people who went there largely on account of that very law; while the railway earnings of the leading roads increased 50 per cent. in one year in bringing them there. So much for bringing moral suasion up through *conviction* to *action*.

There will always be a field for, and demand for, moral suasion, in the form of information and exhortation, in every good work in the world, and in few works more than in the temperance work. Society

must be enlightened by it, conscience stimulated, good men aroused to action, evil men warned, the inebriate rescued, the rising generation instructed, the gospel of temperance preached, by pulpit and pew and press, and temperance literature produced and circulated, the great work organized for action in the churches, the Temperance Societies, and Bands of Hope, and so kept moving on. All this is moral suasion, and it requires patience, perseverance, study, preaching, prayer, and last, but not least, *pay*. It must go on forever, like the warfare against any other sin. It is the primal and fundamental force in the work—one form of preaching salvation to a lost world, and as much belonging in the pulpit as any other form. Never let the most earnest and radical temperance reformers be misunderstood on that point. No wise temperance man will be in any danger of being honestly misunderstood here. Moral suasion will never be obsolete.

But when we have said all that can be said for moral suasion, and for its eternal necessity in any and every good cause, still we have only said a small part of what ought to be said. The very office and function of moral suasion itself still points infallibly onward through conviction in the mind to visible outward action. *Action* is the only true end of thought, the designed incarnation of opinion. And so we pass, by irresistible logic, from the use of moral suasion for the promotion of temperance to consider,

*Secondly, the Employment of Legal Force for the Suppression of Intemperance.*

There is a very striking propriety in the expression "Legal Force," in the statement of this question. It stands out in strong antithesis to that empty *simulacrum*, "legal form." We have had, alas, an immeasurable flood of that "skimble skamble stuff," legal form, which never had any legal force about it, and by many, at least, of its unwilling creators, was never intended to have any force of any sort. Legal force,

if I know what words mean, signifies the force of human society, working in and through the forms of law. It means here just what it means everywhere else. It means law *enacted*, and law *executed* against the violators of law. It means the clear, sharp statute, and then the sheriff, the court, the trial, the verdict, the penalty. It means *the law-breaker grabbed and shaken* by the strong hand and power of the State, and made to suffer the just and certain consequences of his misdeeds. And it means the highest and best moral and patriotic sentiment of the people thus formulated into the kind of law needed, and then honored as law in its unshrinking execution. That is *force*, the force of the whole commonwealth, first organized and uttered as law, and then made majestic and terrible in its sentence against evil-doers. This is what we understand by "legal force," as applied to the suppression of intemperance. It means just what it would mean against horse-stealing, or counterfeiting, or arson, or murder. It implies that intemperance is to be made what it really is, a crime, as well as a misfortune, and then treated accordingly, especially the manufacture and promotion of intemperance. And this criminal aspect of intemperance is one of its most undeniable and appalling features.

1. *Intemperance is a Crime against Property.* It has no right to be classed as an industry, a form of production of what is useful to the world. As well call counterfeiting, or stealing, or Thuggee, industries, because too many people make, or at any rate *get*, a livelihood by them, and because, in some forms or stages of human society, they have acquired the immoral respectability of so-called legal sanctions. *No*, the liquor manufacture and traffic, so far as it relates to our theme, is no more entitled to be called an industry than body-snatching is, because some men have made a business of it, and found a market for their ghoulisn wares. The liquor business is a crime against property, and that on the most colossal scale

that was ever seen under the sun. It is the most awful financial burden of the civilized world. It seems almost a hopeless task to make the unthinking mass of mankind give any heed whatever to the tremendous statistics of intemperance. But, "After us the Deluge" is the cry of knaves, or fools. We must, as wise men, look these facts in the face. The most unquestionable census reports make the *annual* retail liquor bill of the United States average about \$735,000,000, or \$200,000 per day—a sum that would buy, in the West, 100,000,000 barrels of flour, or two barrels per head for every man, woman, and child in the nation, and deliver it, freight paid, at every door! On the most moderate estimates ever made we pay for the mere actual drink \$10,000,000,000 every sixteen years—a sum more than four times our national debt, and more than the entire assessed value of the real estate of this nation. And if we add the \$4,264,205,907 worth of personal property, then we drink up the whole United States, all the land and all the improvements, the cities, the farms, factories, railroads, ships, forests, mines, and every dollar in money or money's worth, the entire wealth of this vast nation, engulfed and out of sight, in every twenty-five years! Every twenty-five years the whole product of man and nature in this nation is annihilated by rum bills alone, and we have to begin over again, not owning the clothes on our backs nor the ground we stand on! Stop our national liquor bill, and, with no gain but that one saving, the wealth of this nation will double in twenty-five years! Can any human mind comprehend such a waste as that? But this is only the direct retail cost of the liquors: nothing counted in for all the valuable products destroyed in making the liquor, nothing for all the vast indirect cost of the consequences of drinking it. But there are 550,000 able-bodied men constantly employed in producing, distributing, and selling liquors, whose wages must be counted, and whose work is worse than that of a hos-

tile army of half a million of men in arms against us. Then the loss of time and labor by drunkenness and tippling, the destruction of grain, the cost of courts, prisons, pauperage, disease, insanity, idiocy, caused by rum, all go to make an additional annual sum of \$1,426,455,000.

Adding together the cost of the drink, the materials destroyed in making it, and the mere money value of its damages, we have a stupendous annual destruction of property amounting to \$2,162,275,140! And no account of interest on \$1,000,000,000 capital! This sum shows that the retail price of the liquors is just about one-third the real amount of cash loss caused by drink. As I figure it, this annual outgo for drink forms a gulf that swallows up every dollar of wealth—the land, and all that stands upon it—in this whole nation, every six and a half years! Where are the idiots who call it fanatical to call attention to such a gulf as this in our path? The question is too vast for any trivial mind to comprehend. I have given some little and imperfect attention to the study of Political Economy, and I hesitate not to declare that all other questions affecting the wealth of nations, and the material advancement of mankind in civilization and prosperity, dwindle into insignificance compared with this colossal problem of the financial waste and ruin of alcoholic drinks. The losses by drink exceed the annual labor bill of this country by over \$50,000,000, or counting also the price of liquors, by about \$75,000,000 a year. The price of liquors alone, during the late awful civil war, was greater than the entire cost of the war to the North and South combined. The world will never know what true material progress is till this waste is saved and put on interest to the credit of human progress. The amazing, bewildering speed of the train of development in America is a snail's pace compared with what would be its sure, safe, and lightning-like velocity, were this awful friction off the wheels. As a crime against proper-

ty the liquor traffic is the vastest on the globe. All the robberies and piracies, all the shipwrecks and burnings, all the spoliations of war and the extravagances of peace, are but a drop in the bucket compared with this destruction of the fruits of human brains and hands.

And yet the magnitude of the crime of intemperance against man's work is as nothing compared with its havoc, as—

2. *Intemperance is a crime against Humanity itself.* In our own happy America alone we have an awful standing army of 600,000 habitual drunkards, with a militia of one and a half millions of moderate drinkers to recruit their ranks. The average life of a confirmed drunkard does not exceed ten years, hence we have 60,000 drunkards dropping into graves of infamy and despair every year, but the militia come forward and join the "regulars," and the ghastly ranks are kept full. And another sadder army of 130,000 widows and orphans of drunkards file past these 60,000 graves, as an army of ghosts to follow the ghosts departed. Rum kills more, all told, every year, than any year of our civil war killed. But there is no arithmetic for the computation of tears, shames, heart-breaks, infamy, despair, and damnation! We can not tabulate these, but there is *one book* in which they are all written down; and that account must one day be faced by those who are responsible for it.

3. *As a Cause and Fountain of Crime Intemperance is the monster of monsters.* That illustrious pillar and ornament of English law, Sir Matthew Hale, England's great Chief-Justice, to whom good law the world over owes so much, will not be suspected of being a modern "temperance fanatic." And yet, on this very subject, he declared two hundred years ago:

"The places of judicature I have long held in this kingdom, have given me an opportunity to observe the original cause of most of the enormities that have been committed for the space of nearly twenty years,

and by due observation I have found that if the murders and manslaughters, the burglaries and robberies, the riots and tumults, the adulteries, fornications, rapes, and other enormities that have happened in that time were divided into five parts, four of them have been the issue and product of excessive drinking—of tavern and ale-house drinking.”

What would he have said, after an experience in a modern police court, under the modern saloon system? A late inspector of English prisons gives the liquor crimes as four-fifths of the whole. The Massachusetts Board of Charities' Report says four-fifths. The Canadian House of Commons Committee's Report says three-fourths. The chaplain of the Preston (England) House of Correction said: “Nine-tenths of the English crime requiring to be dealt with by law arises from the English sin [of intemperance], which the law scarcely discourages.”

Dr. Harris, the eminent prison authority, says fourteen out of seventeen murder cases which he examined were due to intoxicating drinks! So it is in all sorts of crime. And, what is far more terrible, intemperance is the main factor in producing, under the laws of heredity, those horrible monstrosities of humanity, families and clans of hereditary criminals. Thus does this frightful hydra of intemperance coil itself like an anaconda around the human race, crushing fathers and children together, like Laocoön and his sons in the coils of the serpents. It is the waster of the fruits of human toil, the devourer of the bread of the hungry and the clothing of the naked, the briber of justice, the corrupter of government, the desolator of home, the murderer of happiness, the debaser of character, the bereaver of widows, the orphaner of children, the poisoner of health, the outrager of virtue, the profaner of religion, the hater of holiness, the blasphemer of God, the destroyer of both soul and body in hell. If the civil States that legalize this Gorgon had souls to be damned, there would not be

a civilized government on earth out of hell. If there is any one crime of crimes for whose aiders and abettors, rather than for the devil and his angels "the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone" was "prepared," it was for the men who fatten on the blood and souls of the victims of rum!

And the power of rum to pervert all the forms and agencies of government, and make them its willing slaves, is one of its most formidable perils. The Congressional Commission upon the management of the Mississippi River, reports that about \$80,000,000 are wanted to straighten and subjugate that awful flood. But we see rum stand in the halls of our National Congress at this very session, with \$80,000,000 in its hand as one single item of its "business," and men that have shaped the revenues of this nation are growing rich by doing its bidding. Is it not time to be alarmed at its political power? The annual sweep of the Mississippi flood is harmless compared with the perennial, ever-rising, fiery deluge of rum, that threatens to engulf our government and nation. The first murmur of rebellion against our government was the "Whisky Rebellion" in Pennsylvania in 1794. To put down that rebellion Washington sent gallant Harry Lee with the old "Continental." Now the Whisky Rebellion captures the United States Senate in a body, and where is the Washington to put it down?

And another momentous question meets us here. How shall the three-quarters of a million citizens which emigration annually casts upon our shores be moulded safely into the national life, with such a power as this to bid for their votes, and get the most of them, too, as soon as they can vote. Such a peril grows and looms to more colossal proportions every hour it exists.

And yet, with a stony-faced and stony-hearted audacity, these men cry out against legislation on this subject, as an interference with their "private rights."

Immortal shame to John Stuart Mill for putting into his great work on Civil Liberty, pages 170-173, a most contemptible whine about the "usurpations upon the liberty of private life" by the prohibitory statutes of some of the United States of America, because, forsooth, they make it difficult for men to obtain the means for committing alcoholic suicide, after beggaring their wives and children! Such a plea, in the light of this nineteenth Christian century, is the veriest drivel of intellectual babyhood, utterly unworthy of that noblest of all human sciences, Political Economy, and of many of Mill's contributions to that science. Well has the eminent Anglican scholar and churchman, Canon Farrar, replied: "Man's liberty ends, and it ought to end, when that liberty becomes the curse of his neighbors." But Mill himself declares in another place, "The liberty of the individual ends, *however profitable to himself*, when it becomes fatal and ruinous to another." Why could he not see that this is the very principle on which prohibitory legislation is based? An eminent statesman of Missouri has aptly declared: "There are other personal liberties besides those of the wine-drinker and the rum-seller." All honor to brave Bishop Ireland, of Minnesota, who has prohibited Roman Catholics in his diocese from acting as saloon-keepers. May he have many imitators in Church and State.

The right and duty of government to legislate for the suppression, as well as for the mere regulation of the liquor traffic, is implied in every law ever made on the subject. The power to license implies the power to withhold license, *i. e.*, to prohibit for cause. During the last 200 years over 600 separate acts of Parliament in England alone, have attested and asserted the right and duty of such legislation. As to the stale old plea of "sumptuary legislation" nine-tenths of those who use that objection are utterly ignorant of the history and meaning of "sumptuary

laws," and the other tenth *know* that the objection, as applied to this case, is wholly fallacious and false. As well object to fence laws, dog laws, gunpowder laws, nitro-glycerine and dynamite laws, water-works laws, fire-limits laws, nuisance laws, quarantine laws, small-pox laws, laws against set guns, opium and arsenic laws, as object to laws regulating or suppressing a more terrible nuisance and pest and peril than all of these put together. Where is the sense, the statesmanship, the common fairness, of making, and, ostentatiously enforcing, laws against all the errors and crimes of poor fallen humanity, and then, by lack of law, or by law that is worse than none, leaving this fruitful and diabolical instigator of crime to work its baleful spell throughout the land; and to make criminals by wholesale, as a recognized and lucrative line of business, with every rum-shop a college of crime. Such a thing is a monstrosity in legislation, and itself a crime against human society. The need of better legislation, and that of the most searching and repressive sort, is as plain, and as tremendous, as are the evils wrought by this infernal traffic. By how much it is the hundred-headed hydra, the dire Chimæra of wickedness, by so much is it the duty of all good government, especially in all Christian States, to be "a revenger, to execute wrath" upon it, and to remember that the "sword" of civil power is a tremendous trust, not innocently to be borne in vain. Nobly has Justice Grier, of the U. S. Supreme Court, held: "It is not necessary to array the appalling statistics of misery, pauperism, and crime which have their origin in the use and abuse of ardent spirits. The police power, which is exclusively in the State, is competent to the correction of these great evils, and all measures of restraint or prohibition necessary to effect that purpose, are within the scope of that authority, and if a loss of revenue should occur to the United States from a diminished consumption of ardent spirits, she will be a gainer a thousandfold in the

health, wealth, and happiness of her people." All honor to Queen Victoria, and her noble minister, Gladstone, for the moral courage that, in the late Queen's speech to Parliament, congratulated the English nation upon a "diminution of the revenue from intoxicating drinks," arising from a diminution in their use!

And who, and where, it may well be asked, in the light of this Christian land, are the inhuman wretches who are ready to say: "It's none of my business. Men may drink it or let it alone. I don't make them buy it or sell it. I have nothing to do with it." This is the hellish answer of Cain: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Alas, who was the "keeper" of over six hundred Aleuts killed outright on the Alaskan Island of St. Lawrence, by white traders who went there from Honolulu, as alleged, and sold them whisky, and kept them drunk all the sealing season, and then left them to starve and freeze to death in the long Arctic winter. Two hundred and fifty men, women, and children in one village, every soul in it, were found lying stark frozen, in heaps, as shown by the ghastly photographs taken by the revenue cutter *Corwin*. Such is the protection the American eagle (better say vulture!) is giving to her poor pagan children in Alaska! Russia kept the rum-fiend from them, America lets him loose! "None of my business, away off there among those dirty Indians!" But perhaps you are a guest in the blazing Newhall House in Milwaukee, and must burn in that fiery vortex, or jump to the frozen pavement from a sixth-story window, all because of the rum-fiend malice of a drunken bartender below! Whose business is it then? A rich man in St. Louis scornfully refused financial aid to a Temperance mass meeting recently. "Gentlemen, it's not my business!" A few days later, in his splendid carriage, he is driven to the railway station to meet his wife and two beautiful grown daughters, coming home on the Mississippi lightning

express. There is a buzz at the station of an "Accident"—"Twenty-five railways converge here—thinks he—not likely to be Mississippi!" But he is troubled—inquires—"Oh!—it is the Mississippi lightning express—twenty-five miles down the road."—"Telegraph! Here! Wire the superintendent—I'll give \$500 for an extra engine!" Lightning flashes back "No!" Again—"Must have it—\$1,000 for an engine!" "Can't—last one gone with doctors and nurses to the wreck!" Ah—it's *his* "business" *now*! What are banks and stocks now? A white-faced, ghastly man walks the platform one eternal hour—The wrecking train rumbles slowly to platform—He looks—Mangled remains of wife and one daughter—dead—other daughter dying! A childless widower in one minute! Why?—One quart of whisky drank by a train-hand fifty miles away! This is the awful result! Whose business is the temperance cause *now*? And whose business when 60,000 men die drunkards, leaving 130,000 widows and orphans every year? "Grog rations" at sea—we all go to sea nowadays, as passengers. A great staunch Cunarder founders, the only one lost for years, with all on board, save enough to tell the tale of a drunken man's work—General order:

"Circular No. 7.—

"OFFICE OF CUNARD LINE, }  
7TH NOVEMBER, 1882. }

"The Board of Directors have decided that after the 1st of December, proximo, the allowance of rum to seamen and firemen on board the company's ships will be abolished and coffee substituted therefor."

*Amen!* "The world moves," when John Bull afloat gives up his grog. When will John Bull ashore do the same, and Brother Jonathan stretch a brawny hand across the salt, and shake hands with him on that, and swear that this awful curse shall be no more?

But how is this to be brought about on sea or land?

Manifestly by the continual co-operation of *moral suasion* and *legal force*, or by the continual transmutation of moral suasion into legal force. The attempt to divorce these two things is their mutual annihilation. To cry up moral suasion, and at the same time cry down legal force, is to cry up sowing, but cry down reaping; to cry up fire and powder, but cry down the explosion. In fact, who ever knew an objector to repressive legislation, to be a zealous missionary of moral suasion. On the contrary, who ever knew a true and zealous moral suasionist who did not confess the need of something more. Father Mathew, the most eloquent and successful apostle of moral suasion, felt constrained to write: "The principle of prohibition seems to me to be the only safe and certain remedy for the evils of intemperance." And so Cardinal Manning declares: "It is mere mockery to ask us to put down drunkenness by moral and religious means, when the Legislature facilitates the incitements to intemperance on every side. You might as well say to the captain of a ship, 'Why don't you pump the water out?' when you yourselves are scuttling the ship in every direction."

But one of the best statements of this great truth I have met with is that of New Hampshire's noble statesman, the Hon. Henry W. Blair, in his speech in the House of Representatives at Washington, on the joint resolution introduced by him, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States in regard to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Mr. Blair said:

"Laws to protect society against intoxication inevitably grow out of moral suasion, if there is enough of it to arouse the general conscience and the intelligent apprehension of the people to the enormous losses and wrongs inflicted by alcohol upon society at large. Thus it is that the call for more of moral suasion, and less of law, is a contradiction of terms.

These forces are in harmony, like a father and son in a partnership ; the law steps in and enlarges and perpetuates the business which moral suasion has established after years of indefatigable industry upon the platform, through the press, and by private solicitation and appeal. And for any person to cry out upon a law against the use of intoxicating liquors in society, which could never have been enacted at all but in consequence of moral suasion, and say that it injures the cause because you can not compel men to do right against their will, is to say that all crime, and every public evil, shall go free of the law [because perfect obedience is not secured] ; not only that, but that society shall abandon all conservative and preventive means for the protection of those who come after us ; that not only shall the law abandon the present, but the rising generation, and, in fact, consistency will require that in the end moral suasion itself must be abandoned, since its inevitable result is a formal embodiment of its teachings in general law, as soon as it has produced a strong public sentiment upon which law can rest—and which will enforce the law. The unrestricted use, and effect, of distilled spirits, constitute public evils of such a nature as to not only justify but compel the interposition of the law.”

In another paragraph in the same speech, dwelling upon the “right and necessity of legislation,” Mr. Blair adds :

“The absolute necessity of prohibition or regulation of the traffic in intoxicating drinks has been demonstrated in every civilized country. The question has been raised and settled in the Supreme Court of the United States, and by the highest tribunals in almost every State of the Union, if not in all. It is too late to deny the power, the right, and the necessity of such legislation. It is only a question of the jurisdiction by which it shall be enacted, and the extent to which it shall be carried.”

And now, gentlemen and ladies, I must leave this argument with you, for whatever it may be thought worth, as in some sort, a foundation for those who shall follow me in this programme; and to whom is worthily entrusted the task of advising as to what forms legislation ought to take to best accomplish the end designed. In concluding, let me repeat, and let us never forget, that *the ultimate end of all moral suasion is to bring about action*; to create, and organize, and carry through, and complete, the sublime moral and material revolution already begun in this matter. Its end is not merely to save the victims after they are victims, but to stop the making of victims. All honor to the ambulance corps that follows the gory trail of this monster with lint and bandages to bind up his torn and mangled victims, and save all that can be saved. The rescuing temperance societies have a humane and worthy work. Wounded men, mangled men, are worth saving. But so much the more are sound and whole men, as yet untorn and unshamed by this fiend, worth saving. And so I bid you God-speed with the ambulance corps, but I want to fight! I want to sound the bugles! I want a park of legislative artillery to thunder out, and wheel into line, and unlimber for action. I want to mount a Krupp hundred-pounder steel rifle, and let the horses fly! I want to overtake this devastating monster, and put an hundred-pound dynamite shell of "Legal Force" through his vitals, and scatter him to the winds; or leave his skeleton to bleach on the sands of time, beside those of slavery, and piracy, and feudal bondage, and witch-burning, and Mormonism, and other monsters yet to fall.

Does some one say, "We shall never live to see this." That may be. Probably some of us are not worth living to see it, have never earned the sight. But as sure as Jehovah "sitteth upon the circle of

the earth," that victory shall come. It *must* come. The world is lost, without. It is absolutely necessary to the advancement of man, and *the necessary is always possible. The necessary is always certain.* The battle will be that of Gog and Magog, long and sore. But the child is now born who shall see the victory. But for us, win or lose, there is but one thing to do, and that is to stand in our place, and fight on, while we live to fight. And when, at last, we fall, as fall we all must, let it be with all our armor on, sword in hand, *a length toward the foe.*

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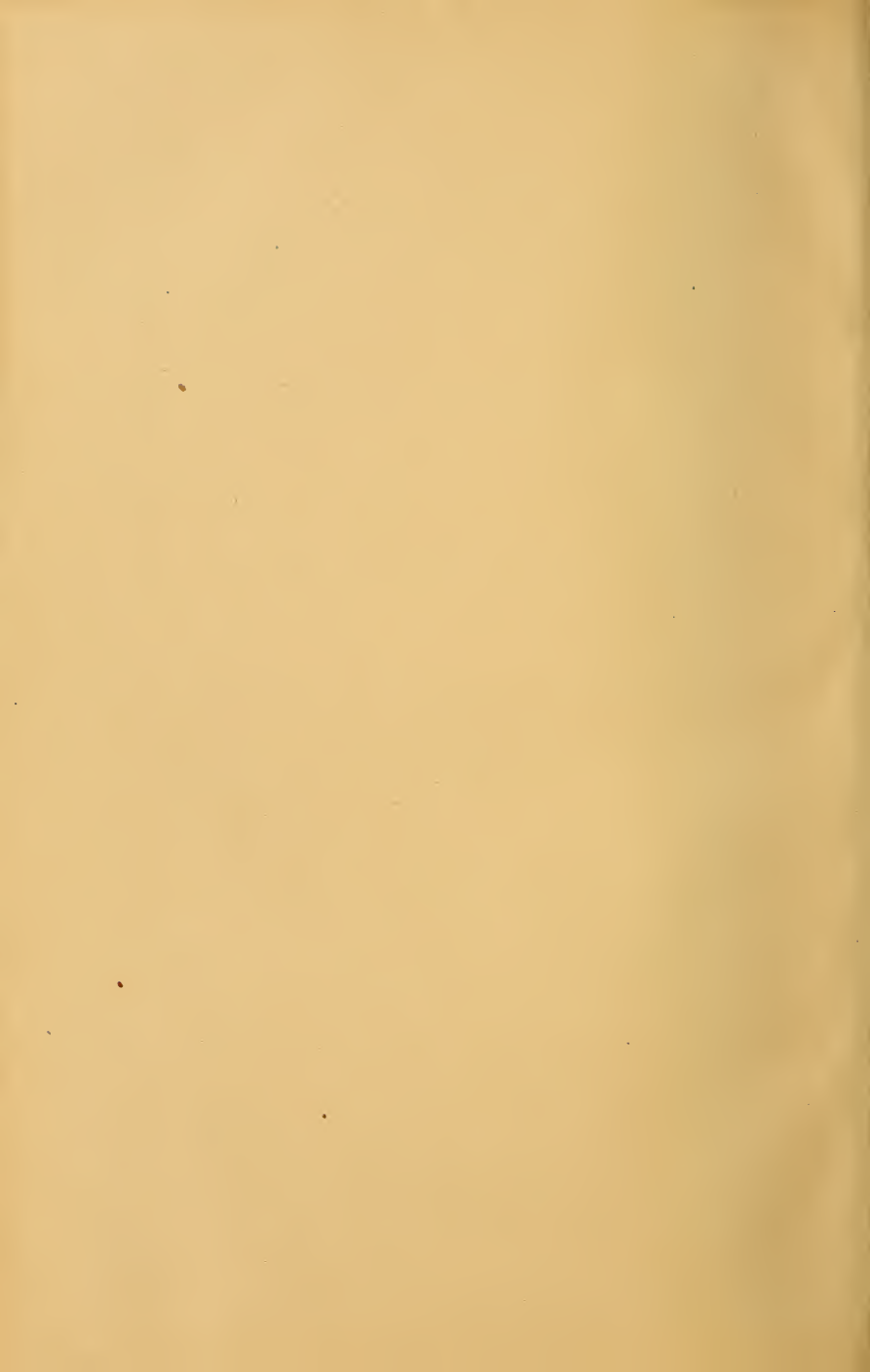
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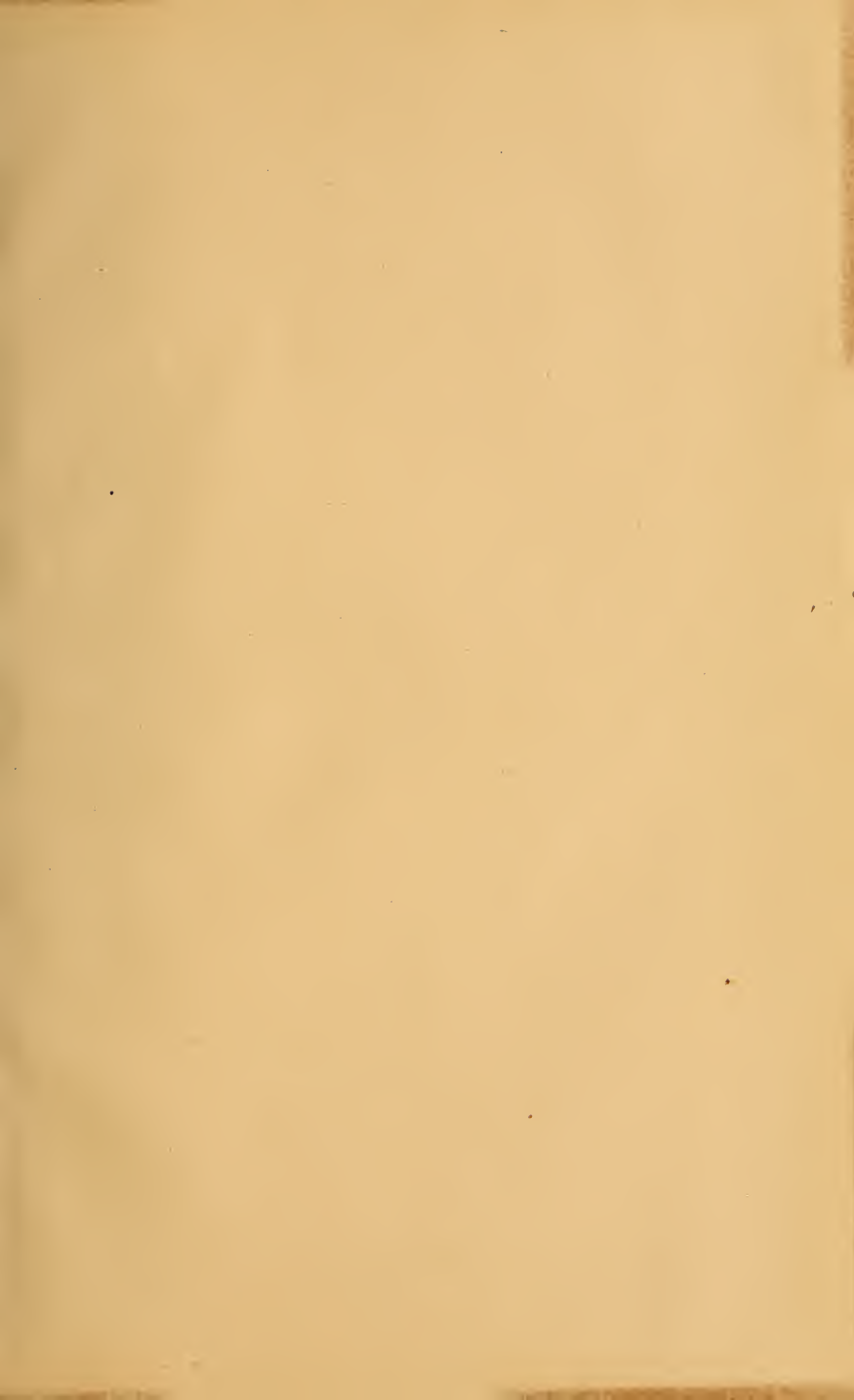
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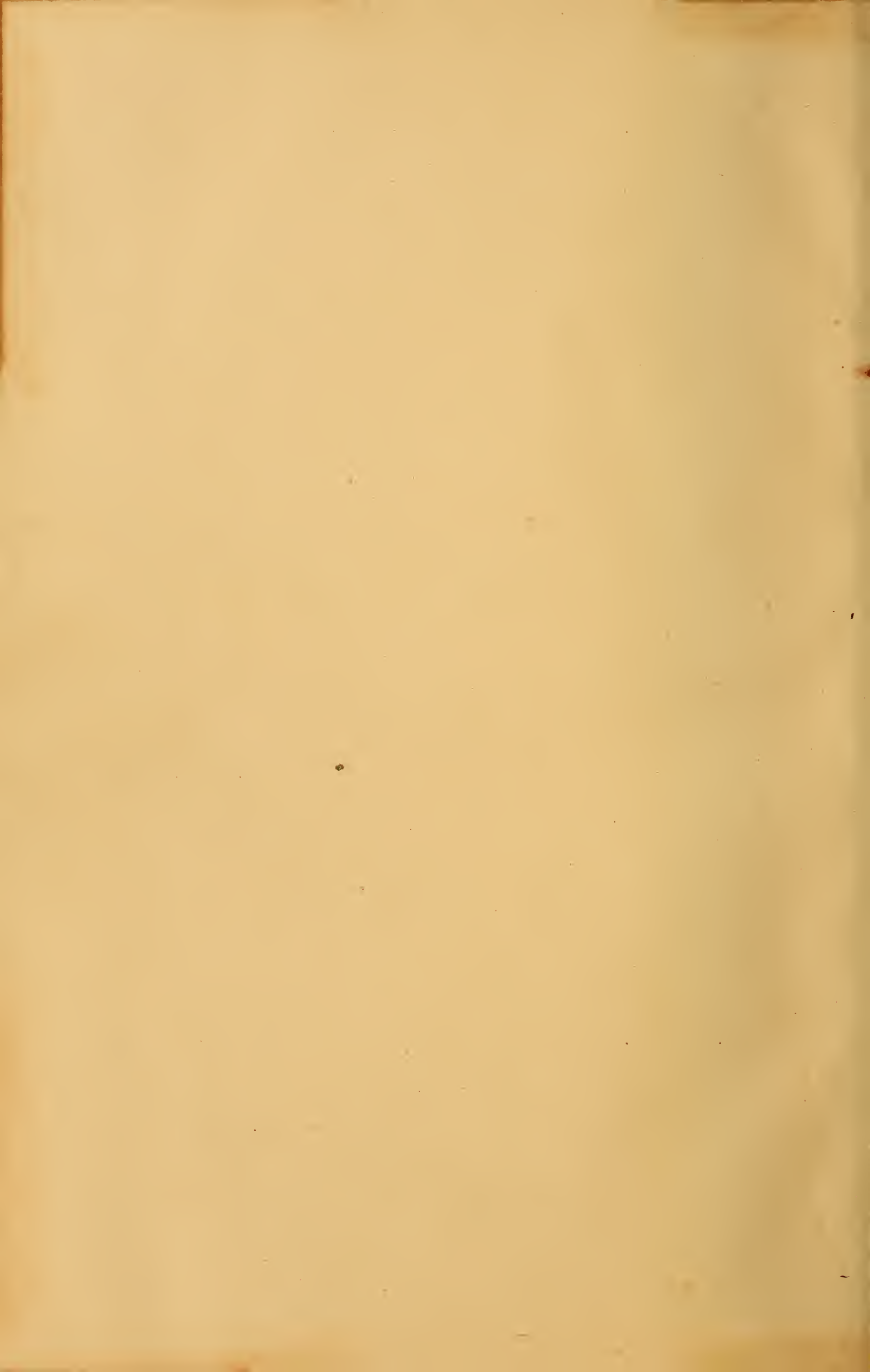
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